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position of women was linked to participation in bodies overtly directed toward social benevolences, the standing for the entire family being summative for its members.

All of this will prove familiar, for the social system in Chiloquin had been derived from that in other American communities. The formal, secondary associations, membership in which served as counters in the social game, included church auxiliaries, service fraternities and lodges, and groups devoted to sports, politics, the school, and to youth activities. The manner in which the organizations were ranked had little to do with their functions or their local historical priority. It related instead to the prestige which they enjoyed generally in the western United States and their identification with social status. Even within such a small community as Chiloquin, social assessment had become refined to a marked degree. It was maintained by indirection and with considerable tact, yet gave structure to much of the social interaction.

Since the social order in Chiloquin has been discussed at length elsewhere,[1] only the major outlines need be drawn here. Yet it is inadvisable to leave the impression that any single dimension provided a clear means of ranking. It was evident, for example, that there was an ordering of the Protestant churches, ranging from the Methodist church through intermediate bodies down to the pentecostal Full Gospel body and two ethnic sects—one Klamath and the other Negro—in major membership. Their congregations and ministers, their location and material endowment, together with the character of their worship, all afforded a basis for this ranking. Two churches, nonetheless, stood somewhat outside this range. One, the Williamson River Mission, was the Klamath church founded in the early days of the reservation. As such, it had historical venerability, a Methodist affiliation, but an ethnic membership. The second was the Catholic church, located in a less favored section of town, yet eminently endowed and drawing members from the entire social span.

Status differences in Chiloquin, moreover, were variously assessed by its residents. Several of those who objectively occupied high status stressed the leveling qualities of primary relations which they regarded as characterizing the town, and discounted the reality of a hierarchical ordering. Others, of middle

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the course of their employment by whites—to mention but one sphere—were even then associated in American society with inferior status, as involving largely manual labor. The course of technological change tended to reduce those skills further in prestige. The Klamath remaining upon the reservation generally confined themselves to occupations of this level.

In these and similar contexts, tribal members entered into relationship with whites, both as coworkers and as employee or rarely—as with Henry Jackson's hired hands—as employer. Within this context, they had the opportunity to model behavior upon a wide range of examples, and were not restricted to whites of similar socioeconomic status. The Klamath girls who worked as domestics in Klamath Falls at the turn of the century had many opportunities to observe the life of middle-class families.

Yet individual change is only part of the picture, interwoven as it often is in the fabric of institutional change. In such a structure as the Indian Shaker movement on the reservation are to be seen the summation of a number of individual commitments to a new creed, and thus the emergence of an institutionalized consensus. For each participant, the commitment must have had a highly individual significance, in the light of his condition and belief prior to entering the sect. A brief résumé of the history of that movement at Klamath will illustrate the complexity of the factors surrounding institutional change.

The Indian Shaker movement had its inception on Puget Sound in 1882, but expanded vigorously only after a favorable court ruling a decade later.[12] A messianic faith, it incorporated elements of native belief and practice along with many aspects drawn from Catholic and Protestant Christianity. As it spread, it vied with and was influenced by other syncretic faiths as well as Christian sects, from which its converts and opponents came.

The Klamath church traces its origin to the East End leader, Henry Jackson, who had been instrumental in bringing the Earthlodge cult from northern California. Now, in 1914, forty years later, stricken with what was to prove his last illness, he turned his eyes northward, inspired by what he had heard from the unorganized local converts about the Shakers and their cures. When they declined to treat him themselves—perhaps the fate of the shaman, Dr. George, was still etched in their minds—he

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#648 #657 • 795 177 178 sent a mission to the Yakima reservation in the state of Washington. The leaders who came down worked over him for some time, but concluded that his case was hopeless; and indeed he soon died. Notwithstanding this initial failure, the Shakers became firmly established. A tribal member, one Stanley Pedro, offered them his dance hall and, drawing a parallel with the better known movement of Europe and the eastern United States, urged that the movement be named the Annie Lee religion. The church, located on the outskirts of Chiloquin, became a focal point from which influences subsequently fanned out to the Siletz reservation on the Oregon coast and to Smith and Klamath Rivers to the southwest. By the circumstance of its location, it drew members primarily from the Klamath proper of the Lower End.

The church met with no official threat. Gone was the day when an Agent might freely move against a religion of which he disapproved. Wrote the Acting Superintendent mildly in 1917, "They are somewhat fanatical and they indulge in some ceremonies that savor very much of ancient Indian customs but their creed contains some very good things. . . ."[13] He or a successor is said to have sent a member of the Indian police to observe the ceremonies, and the latter recalls that he reported with warm favor on the practices he witnessed.[14]

Several features are significant in the establishment of the church at Klamath. It came from other Indian groups along the Columbia which had previously been cultural donors, although the earlier cults received had come rather from the south. As adopted, the Shaker religion was seen as an Indian faith, its syncretism not acknowledged. Proponents thereafter came to underscore the uniqueness of its development by denying that native shamanistic elements or specifically Christian features lay at its core. At the same time, the freedom for inspired expression led converts at Klamath further to modify the received doctrine. [153] Illness brought on through the agency of ghosts and the receipt of power through songs are but two such reinterpretations. Klamath communicants likewise differed in not eschewing coffee, normally forbidden in other congregations.

The growth did not take place in a vacuum. Such Pentecostal faiths as the Four Square Gospel were on the move soon after the church had come into being. In 1926, missionaries of that

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sect were permitted to make temporary use of the Shaker church building until their own structure could be erected. Tribal members were drawn into entrant fundamentalist sects as well as the Shaker faith, and on the occasion of revivals Shakers freely visited their services.

Together with some of those sects, the Shaker faith embodied many of the demonstrative acts, in dramatized testimonial, visions, and the inspired state known as "the shakes," which had been largely abandoned by other churches that had become more staid with the passage of time. Its cures were the most spectacular demonstration of its power, and many of its converts came to it in this way. At the same time, it drew no very large membership: in 1925, Spier found only twenty Klamath thus affiliated. Any claim to the exclusive allegiance of members—an aspect of the Christian heritage—made heavy way against the broad tolerance in things religious characteristic of the Klamath.

The member of the Indian police who had found favorably for the Shakers was cured by them on another occasion, rang bells in the services, and even sparked a drive to improve the appearance of the church. With equal concern, he contributed heavily to the Four Square Gospel mission, which he felt was beneficial to the "coming generation." His formal affiliation continued with the Methodist Church, and he was often in attendance at the Williamson River Mission. Nor did commitment to Christianity dim his evident belief in the validity of aboriginal Klamath religion. In his mind, and the minds of many other elderly Klamath, there was no need to select narrowly and exclusively a single revelation of the divine order on earth.

The fundamentalist churches—the "emotional" churches, as they were disparagingly dubbed by some white Methodists in Chiloquin—appealed primarily to whites and ethnic minorities of lower social status, and indeed participation in their services was a factor weighed in status evaluation. Accordingly, these sects brought tribal communicants into intimate contact with those components of the community, providing the basis for a certain degree of acculturation as well as of intermarriage. A few of the Mexican Interethnic unions stemmed from these associations, and at least one white Interethnic couple was regularly affiliated with the Negro church.

The Shaker church, however, was an ethnic church of some

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rigidity, and while its members freely attended the services of other sects, they were selective in admitting non-Klamath to their worship. It was finally upon the issue of its Indian character that the church was riven. The immediate circumstance was the effort of the "Annie Lee" faction to introduce the Bible into the ritual. A stout minority of the members refused to allow this, observing, in the words of one member, "The Indian has his religion: God speaks to him through the 'shakes.' The white man hasn't got them; he has to use the Bible." The contest soon came to litigation, during which the conservatives held services in private dwellings, while their rivals occupied the church building. Some years later, while the issue dragged on, a fire destroyed the structure; but the "Annie Lee" faction possessed sufficient vigor to rebuild it. Increasingly, that group had been gravitating toward the Four Square Gospel; and when the church was rebuilt it came to be used jointly with another fundamentalist sect.

Thus, even the maintenance of an "Indian" religion, objectively syncretic in form and content, is sought by a state charter of incorporation and internal disputes are placed before the courts for decision. Moreover, its growth parallels the revivalistic movement of fundamentalist sects upon the West Coast; it vies with them for members; and its destiny is finally interwoven with theirs. Any theory that sees in the growth of such a religion a reaction of the Klamath people to pressures of the time must consider that special history and account for the parallel growth of other sects among non-Klamath at about the same time. For the Klamath, those sects must be regarded alternant to the Shaker faith in providing opportunities for expression. In assessing the features that attracted converts, the appeal of familiar Christian practice, known from earlier Methodist services, must be reckoned, as well as those features which were strictly aboriginal. For some, indeed, the identity of the church as Indian may have been compelling, as fostering an image of independence from the almost overwhelming presence of American culture.

To evaluate the impact of the Shaker Church from the members involved is hazardous. Although only a handful of individuals became exclusively committed to the Shaker way, its impact extended far beyond their ranks. At the same time, the majority

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of tribal members held aloof, while some members were no more than "Sunday" or "holiday" Shakers, attending services only at wide intervals.

That there was no single Klamath response to culture contact even upon the reservation, must now be abundantly clear. It is also true that tribal members are not to be found extended along a single continuum of change. No typology satisfactorily preserves the mosaiclike pattern of the accommodation they have made. For the course, even of institutional change, is the product, not of the engagement of reified "cultures," but of the countless individual choices expressed before concrete alternatives and projected against past experience. In the successive role-relationships into which they have entered, the biographies of some elderly Klamath suggest that there may well have been for them an inner continuity, not unchanging, which provided in their life-way a reference and a means of self-identification.[15] For many younger tribal members, however, the range of possible identification has become greater, while coercive restraints have weakened; and their selection among behaviors may be so conditioned by factors in the immediate situation as to appear inconsistent from one time to the next. Cultural confusion may well have resulted in their failure to form a stable self-image.

A central characteristic of modern Klamath relationships has been termed, for want of a happier phrase, "permissive diversity."[16] By this is meant a condition offering the individual a wide latitude of choice among multiple and optional alternatives, permitted modes being not only broad in range but diffusely delimited. Analyses of Klamath myths[17] and of the ethnological record suggest that this state, which corresponds in large measure to the "loose structuring" of Embree,[18] was characteristic of aboriginal Klamath culture, but it may well have been enhanced in reservation times by the breakdown of native agencies of control and by those other developments fostering individualism. The roots of its continuity lie in conditions of child-rearing, already reviewed, as well as in the social transactions of adult life.

The corresponding qualities in the individual are equally clear. For many Klamath, the interpersonal distance is of considerable magnitude, and constitutes a wary, defensive response to the

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Here Christian elements, like the sign of the cross, were interspersed with native Klamath traits relating to the shamanistic seance and to the aboriginal folklore. The acculturation process also involved modification and integration of Ghost Dance forms introduced from adjacent tribes.[10] The growth of tribal, rather than hamlet, factions split the reservation at this time, and there was the pattern, familiar among other Indians, of chief rivalling shaman and of progressive against conservative. While the 1870 cult is one abortive attempt at native cultural revival, the post-contact history of the Klamath is replete with illustrations of a religiously conceived resistance to the disrupting pressures from without. Variously listed are the Earthlodge Cult, the Dream Dance, and several other revivalistic and messianic forms.[11]

By about 1900, nativistic movements on the Klamath Reservation had burned themselves out. Tribal life of a half century ago was fraught with essentially the same problems which dog it today. People entered into economic competition in the greater society and became nominally Christian (and so lent Methodist sanctions to social institutions). However, the older values were only with difficulty accommodated to the new. One or two shamanistic practitioners survived but others felt that their power was gone. One informant tells of her uncle, a shaman, saying sadly, "My songs (shaman power) have left me." Shamanism as an integrating factor in Klamath life and in that of other Pacific Northwest groups is reflected in another important movement, somewhat different from the frenzied Ghost Dance. This is the Shaker Cult, also a synthesis of native and Christian elements but with longer range objectives. Originating in the north in the 1880's, it diffused slowly, reaching the Klamath in 1914.[12] Basically Christian in its orientation, the Shaker Cult admits a fundamentalistic Protestant eschatology; but in its emphasis on a "God is Light" theme, the employment of the cross as a particularly efficacious holy symbol, the use of bells, and the presence of curing seances, it assumed a peculiar flavor. Numerous aboriginal elements also are discernible.[13] Techniques reminiscent of shamanistic curing are employed (for example, the removing of causes of disease from the sufferer's body by means suggestive of shamanistic legerdemain), although the Shakers vigorously disclaim the older shamans, describe their work as of the devil, and insist that the spirit of God effects Shaker cures. But the Shaker Cult, too, although it enjoyed a following on the Klamath Reservation for some years, is dying. A few older people now meet in each other's homes for services. The Shaker church at Chiloquin, Oregon, is now rarely used, and the younger

[10] Spier, 1927, p. 45. The Ghost Dance was evidently introduced from the Northern Paiute. The Klamath held that Kemu'kemps was coming from the south and that the dead were to return. See p. 53.

[11] Nash, 1937, pp. 412-435; cf. Cora DuBois, *The 1870 Ghost Dance* (Anthropological Records, 3: 1, Berkeley, 1939), 130-134.

[12] Leslie Spier, *The Prophet Dance of the Northwest and its Derivatives: The Source of the Ghost Dance* (General Series in Anthropology, no. 1, Menasha, Wis., 1935), 54.

[13] Erna Gunther, "The Shaker Religion of the Northwest," in *Indians of the Urban Northwest*, ed. Marian Smith (New York, 1949), pp. 37-76.

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reservation residents are not attracted. Like its more dramatic predecessors, the Shaker religion fails as a bulwark against societal disorganization.

The modern Klamath are in the main nominally Christian. Many are allied with local churches: Protestant groups attract a fair following; some are Roman Catholics; others now and again join the itinerant Pentecostal and Holiness groups. While many Klamath are unquestionably religious in the accepted Christian sense, the church offers a primary social outlet to those who value group association. Whatever the function of the church on the reservation today, apparently it has no aboriginal vestiges in its ritual or organization. It would be impossible to say to what extent tribal members find a link with the native past in the spiritual curing practices of such bodies as the Pentecostal Assemblies of God, which, however, clearly make no concessions to aboriginal concepts.

It thus seems evident that the overt forms of tribal religion are gone. The Klamath majority is now avowedly Christian even though church affiliation is not universal. Religious attitudes seem highly diverse. Some individuals, while indifferent to religious tenet, are admittedly attracted by the display or by social opportunities. Some are devout, others ignore the churches entirely. Still others, whether or not church members, speculate on religious questions, show considerable introspective preoccupation, or are frankly curious about native religion and Christianity. Their opinions and attitudes demonstrate that the aboriginal past is not wholly dead. In this consideration, shamanistic curing may be ruled out, since modern medicine is generally accepted by the Klamath and, in any case, shamanistic patterns have merged with the decaying Shaker Cult. Since this is so, the less formalized aspects of the aboriginal religion survive to intrude now and again into modern conceptualization.

The survival of cosmological features may still be observed here and there. For example, tales of people and animals turned to stone by Crow's laughter are half-credulously recounted by young and old. A surviving custom or two, reflecting the older world-view, might also be noted. A boy who kills his first deer is well advised not to eat its meat himself. By giving the game away, he averts failure in his next hunting expedition. Hunting on the reservation today is a sport, no economic value being attached to it. (Aboriginally too, the Klamath were so well adapted to their specialized lake-marsh economy that hunting played a distinctly minor part.) This custom, which may stem from the emphasis on wealth and generosity, is laughed down today but it is still practised. Another very common belief is that animals can speak Klamath but not English. A howling coyote is recognized by young and old as a harbinger of death; the owl says, "'Maklaks, 'maklaks," which "when you hear it, it means somebody close to you is going to die." The Klamath word means human and refers to the tribe itself. Taboos on the first game of the hunter, the first wild foods gathered, as well as fear of the owl are widely distributed among western tribes.

But more pertinent here are the modern Klamath views based on the past which either influence actual behavior or bridge a gap, conceptually, specu-

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That's why Kemu'kemps disappeared when Christ came. But then I remember them talking when I was young about how Kemu'kemps was coming back. That was all lies so I guess Kemu'kemps must be the Devil. Still, they say he created all just like God. I don't know how to figure it."

Mention was made above that the culture hero had a son who was born miraculously. The possible relationship between 'Ayšiš and Jesus has caught the fancy of some. A man of seventy comments: "Yes, Kemu'kemps and God are one and the same. There's a story that says how Kemu'kemps saved a woman's baby when she jumped into the fire and that baby was raised as his own son. I don't believe it. God created all living things. He made the Devil, too. I think 'Ayšiš is the Devil because he's always trying to get the best of his father. We old Indians knew about God but we didn't know about our Lord and Saviour, Jesus Christ."

A 56-year-old woman remarked: "Yes, Kemu'kemps is God and he had a son, just like Jesus. 'Ayšiš even dies and comes alive again in the old Indian stories, and that's like the Christians teach. And that Holy Ghost business, that's the power that God gives. The Indians knew about that. That's why you say 'Father, Son, and Holy Ghost.' "

But so concise a syncretism of aboriginal and Christian religious elements is rare. Younger people vary greatly in belief. One man, about thirty-eight, noted: "Kemu'kemps? They told us stories about him when we were kids. They said he's like God. It doesn't matter to me. Maybe he is; they always say how he made everything around here. Maybe he did; things get that way somehow." A 31-year-old woman remarked: "Kemu'kemps stuff is what they tell kids. That's old Indian devil-talk. I don't know nothing about it." And a 16-year-old girl stated: "I've heard my grandmother talk about Kemu'kemps. That's kind of scary stuff like the dead coming back to haunt you. There's a cave up on the Sprague River where they say Kemu'kemps used to live. Maybe he still lives there. Anyway, I wouldn't walk up that road in the dark."

A woman of about fifty-five, when questioned about the religious training she gave the grandchild entrusted to her care, answered: "Children learn about the Bible very fast. I tell my granddaughter the old Bible stories and she likes to hear them. But I steer off of that old Indian stuff. I think we ought to get away from those old Indian superstitions. I'll sure get mad if anybody scares her with stories about those old Indian things like Kemu'kemps."

Her statement sets the tone for the future. The old beliefs are being lost, and although still very general, they stand out most vividly only in the minds of those who were raised in the period of the second Ghost Dance and the analogous revivalistic movements which followed it. While they obtained, during their upbringing, a detailed background of native Klamath mythology, they succeed, according to their own inclinations, in passing on their point of view to their descendants, or they may fail to do so. The attitudes indicated above are individual; no debate about the nature of Kemu'kemps or related concepts has been noted. While the formally organized religious groups, including the Shakers (however dependent on the aboriginal patterns of

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shamanism and curing), consistently oppose any such conceptual survival, the point does not emerge as a significant controversy.

Thus, despite the decline of Klamath culture, something of the aboriginal world-view persists. If the unformalized aspects of culture have a greater life-expectancy than the formalized and institutionalized ones, then the point of view reflected in myth, a series of cultural premises, must in some form outlast the setting of the point of view into motion through actual behavior. This has apparently happened among the Klamath. The overt behavioral aspects are gone entirely, but some individuals uneasily attempt to bridge a gap. The mechanisms which produced a Ghost Dance and a Shaker Cult are now merely vestigial but still present.

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